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PSYCHOLOGY DIVISION

~~DIVISIONAL MEMORANDUM NO. 11~~

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ATTITUDINAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

PROVIDED BY RADIO PROPAGANDA

(NOVEMBER 1, 1941 TO DATE)

FEBRUARY 2, 1942

RESTRICTED

ATTITUDINAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE PROVIDED BY RADIO PROPAGANDA (NOVEMBER 1, 1941 TO DATE)

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Psychology Division

Divisional Memorandum No. 11

ATTITUDINAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE PROVIDED BY RADIO PROPAGANDA (NOVEMBER 1, 1941 TO DATE)

SUMMARY

German controlled Radio-Paris and Vichy radio stations dominate the air-waves in France because of listening bans.

Vichy Radio is not completely Nazified, but close to it. It is strongly anti-British and anti-Russian, mildly anti-United States. It seeks a blind faith in the Petain government.

Radio-Paris provides the whole gamut of Nazi appeals; is strongly antagonistic toward the United States, Britain, and Russia. It focuses on an audience in the Unoccupied Zone, appealing for collaboration. Since the United States entry into the war, Radio-Paris has turned against Vichy, still does not directly attack Petain.

British broadcasts seek to convince the French that the Allies will win, that they should not collaborate with Germany. Conservative news reporting and predicting is attempted.

Other agencies broadcasting in French to France include Italy, Russia, the Vatican, the Free French, Radio Inconnue, (a "Freedom Station") and the United States.

In their propaganda, both Radio-Paris and Vichy attempt to capitalize on French pride and desire to recoup, on her respect for Christian ethics. Radio-Paris is forced in counter-propaganda to admit anti-German sentiments in the French people, including hope for an Allied victory and distaste for German occupation and collaboration.

Immediately following is a comparative summary of the attitudes and themes presented from these various sources:

------VICHY------	---RADIO-PARIS (NAZI)---	BRITISH BROADCASTING CO.	------OTHER RADIO------
AUDIENCE ADDRESSED:			
Unoccupied Zone	Both Zones, particularly Unoccupied France	Both Zones	
IMPORTANCE OF THE AGENCY AND PROBABLE NATURE OF THE AUDIENCE:			
Listening unrestricted, programs frequent, easily accessible. No information on pure entertainment provided.	Probably dominant in terms of volume out-put etc. Listening unrestricted. No information about entertainment which this station provides.	Listening restricted in both Zones, severe penalties. Available on medium and long waves, most important of anti-Axis agencies. Frequently jammed.	Listening ban in both Zones includes Russia, Free French, Radio Inconnue, probably United States. Radio Inconnue frequently jammed. Programs from the above and from Rome and the Vatican infrequent.
ACTION DESIRED:			
Cooperation with and blind faith in Petain and his government.	From Vichy, collaboration; from Occupied Zone, acceptance of German Troops.	Opposition by Vichy government and by individuals to collaboration; undermining of morale of German troops of occupation; willingness to eventually cooperate militarily.	Vatican: to increase religious attitudes, Faith, industry, duty. Free French: to oppose Vichy government and collaboration. Radio Inconnue: active resistance to German and Vichy.
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD FRANCE IN GENERAL:			
France to regain former proud position.	France to regain former prestige as part of the New Europe.	France to regain former proud position among democracies of the World.	
France's defeat due to own factionalism, selfishness.	France defeated by superior forces, due to English betrayal, own criminal government, Jews, Masons, Parliamentarians. Should never have started war.	French leaders the only one's that quit. Real France is still fighting.	Free French: France still fighting.

------VICHY RADIO------	---RADIO-PARIS (NAZI)---	BRITISH BROADCASTING CO.	------OTHER RADIO------
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD FRANCE IN GENERAL: (continued)			
France must preserve, achieve, unity. Colonies must be kept. Prisoners must not be forgotten.	France must preserve, achieve, unity; between the two Zones, and with the colonies. Prisoners must be (by collaboration) returned.	French will be reunited through Britain's help.	Free French: All French people really unified behind De Gaulle.
France in future will be free of class-conflict, industrious, dutiful. Break with past asked for.	France should reform along National Socialist lines, become an active cooperator in the New Europe.	French Democracy will be restored.	Vatican: France must be industrious and dutiful, trust in the future.
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD THE VICHY GOVERNMENT AND LEADERS:			
Petain is the wise, just, considerate and humane leader; spiritual leader of French in both Zones.	Petain treated favorably, seemingly regarded as leader of French in both Zones, favors collaboration.	Petain never directly attacked, nor Weygand; both treated as impotent and dutiful rather than truly patriotic.	Free French: All Vichy including Petain and Weygand regarded as traitors opposed by the French people.
All Vichy officials, especially the collaborationists ones such as Pucheu and Belin, get played up; speeches and quotes given.	"Anglophiles" close to Vichy damned, usually not named. Vichy government as a whole opposed since U. S. entry into war. Earlier attitude favorable, though mixed. "Attentiste" policy attacked.	Vichy government as a whole attacked, especially the collaborationists, as Darlan, Belin, Pucheu. Names given wherever possible. Vichy attacked for lack of firm stand, secret collaboration.	Radio Inconnue: Against all Vichy, including Petain.
ATTITUDES TOWARD FREE-FRENCH MOVEMENT:			
Unrelievedly antagonistic.	Antagonistic, with however occasional concessions to de Gaulle's energy, military accuracy. De Gaullists are misguided, bought out.	For period noted, strongly and consistently favorable. Attempt made to stress Free French military action over British where possible. "France still fighting" slogan.	Radio Inconnue: non-committal in sample noted.

------VICHY RADIO------	---RADIO-PARIS (NAZI)---	BRITISH BROADCASTING CO.	------OTHER RADIO------
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD GERMANY:			
Attitude favorable, little direct mention. Favorable reporting of war news and diplomatic activities.	Attitudes favorable, emphasizing military strength and value of Nazi ideology. Very favorable news selection. Historic French-German hatred attacked, shown groundless.	Assume in French anti-German attitudes; show collaboration to be exploitation. Stress German difficulties, weaknesses, war guilt, tyranny.	Radio Inconnue: very much against "les Boches". Vatican: ambiguous, not openly opposed in broadcasts to France seen.
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD GREAT BRITAIN:			
Strongly anti-British; related to France's defeat, blockade of France and colonies, siezure of ships, and siezure of colonies.	Strongly anti-British, except where extending her sympathy for her subordination to the U.S. Quotes Vichy anti-British statements. England claimed at war with France.	Britain still an ally of the French people. Britain will win, with American help.	Free French: favorable to Britain. Radio Inconnue: Seems not to mention Britain, but rather the U.S. Italy: Strongly anti-British.
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD THE UNITED STATES:			
Mixed, slight predominance of antagonistic attitudes. News selection unfavorable.	Strongly anti-United States on usual Nazi lines. U.S. seems to be succeeding Britain as arch-pluto-Judeo democracy.	Emphasize American identification with Allied cause, and U.S. strength, and U.S. disapproval of collaboration.	Radio Inconnue: pro-American.
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD RUSSIA:			
Strongly antagonistic; though most attitudinal appeals directed against communists at home.	Strongly antagonistic, less attitude attention than U.S. or Britain. Religious aspect stressed.	Emphasize Russian power, determination. Some references favorable to Russian government; occasional appeals for solidarity with British labor in support of the Communist fight against Fascism.	Vatican: antagonistic to Russian atheism but did not sanction Nazi war as a holy war. Italy: Strongly anti-Russian, on religious grounds.

	* ------VICHY RADIO------	---RADIO-PARIS (NAZI)---	BRITISH BROADCASTING CO.	------OTHER RADIO------
ATTITUDES SUGGESTED TOWARD OTHER COUNTRIES:	Italy neglected, mild approval of Japan before Pacific hostilities, Turkey, Portugal, Spain approved.	Favorable to all Axis powers, satellites, and potential allies now neutral.		
IDEOLOGIES FAVORED:	An authoritarian, paternalistic state, purely French, with a dutiful and industrious populace, absence of class conflict.	National Socialism, emphasis on socialism; a united New Europe; racialism; anti-Democratic; anti-Bolshevik.	Democratic, occasionally reform-capitalism. Hard to determine amount of ideological appeals, but probably not too numerous.	Russia: no ideological appeals noted. Free French: ambiguous, democratic.
GENERAL NOTES ON TECHNIQUE:	Tone often depressed, tendency to avoid mention of undesired attitudes and important problems. Contriteness emphasized.	Direct, specific counter propaganda against undesired attitudes. Sympathetic identification with listener sought. Assured, self-confident, righteously indignant. Strong use of ideological appeals.	Unflinching optimism on long run goal; cautious pessimistic treatment of most immediate goals (e.g. Libyan campaign). Main focus on enemy's troubles. Reputation as a reliable news source considered very important.	As far as our sources show, Russia, Italy, and the United States were at this period using the technique of "straight news reporting" in which news selection, not interpretation, is the main tactic.

ATTITUDINAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

PROVIDED BY RADIO PROPAGANDA

(NOVEMBER 1, 1941 TO DATE)[1]

INTRODUCTION

Agencies. There are three major agencies of radio propaganda available to the French people. Foremost among these are German-controlled radio stations, best represented by Radio-Paris, but also including Luxemburg and Lille. The second agency is the Vichy controlled radio, broadcasting primarily from Radio-Lyons and Lyons National, but also from Toulouse. The third is the BBC, broadcasting to France under the general supervision of the Political Warfare Executive of the British government. Russia, Italy, and the United States direct programs to the French people, but our information on these broadcasts does not show them to be very frequent or extensive. From the Vatican come occasional but important broadcasts to France. In addition to very sympathetic treatment by BBC, the de Gaullists have two other radio outlets, of problematic significance. These are their own station at Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa, and the Dutch East Indies station of Batavia which gives occasional French programs. Isolated broadcasts in French from Schwartzenburg, Switzerland, and from Oviedo, Spain, were noted, neither directed purposefully to French nationals.

Characteristics of the Audience. Restrictions on radio listening in both Zones put all anti-Axis agencies at a great disadvantage. In addition, "jamming" is frequent and extensive, noted particularly for BBC and Radio Inconnue. No reports were available on the precise amount of illicit listening going on, nor on the character of the listening audience, but we might expect the audience to be at least as large as in the other parts of

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1 Due to transportation lags, our detailed knowledge of the propaganda ends with November 18th. More recent reports are available only in a highly selected and fragmentary form, giving no attention to domestic topics. Our focus is on the more general attitudinal content rather than on the treatment of specific events. See Appendix I for more details about sources.

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occupied Europe. Counter propaganda in both Zones recognizes the existence of an illegal BBC audience.

Treatment of the material. The focus of our attention has been on the attitudes suggested, the ideologies and actions advocated. Greatest emphasis has been placed on the actual themes contained in the propaganda.

To supplement the openly expressed attitudes towards various nations, a sample analysis was made of the biases in news coverage from Radio-Paris and from Vichy controlled radio. The technique was to note the relative frequency of news which would be considered "good" or "bad" by the country in question (not the propagandist), and in this manner to bring out the sympathies of the agency. This analysis, and a similar one for open expressions of attitude, are presented in Appendix II. From them the relative attention paid each country can also be noted. It is to be emphasized that no great reliability is to be attributed to the precise percentage figures found there.

VICHY-CONTROLLED RADIO PROGRAMS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE

Recent material on the output of Vichy-controlled Radio is very limited. For most of the analysis we have had to depend upon the much delayed Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts, our most recent issue being November 18.

I. Attitudes suggested toward France. Unoccupied France (and the Vichy government) is the most frequent topic of news items, and the second most frequent object of attitudinal references (Great Britain being the foremost). Attitude expressions toward the Vichy government are unanimously favorable. Loyalty to Petain and a blind faith in following his decisions is asked for. The major pro-government themes are the good works of the government, and an emphasis on the Colonial Empire, its loyalty, and the strength of military forces there. The determination to defend the colonies is always emphasized. An important complex of appeals is the mixing of emphasis on French honor, pride, importance, with appeals for contriteness, penance, atonement. Not only is war-guilt projected upon the few (as in the Riom Trials), but self-blame is even more frequent. Individual selfishness on the part of all classes is held responsible for the lack of unity and national weakness of France.

The plight of the prisoners of war is frequently mentioned. The French are asked to remember their suffering, to provide jobs for those released, to be loyal to Petain in order that they may be released. Indirectly used, this seems to be one strongest argument for collaboration with Germany appearing in Vichy propaganda. At the same time, however, the government has to remind the people that writing to Vichy, or asking for the release of individual prisoners is useless; that "only the German authorities know" when the next batch of prisoners will be released; that the census of war prisoners is no sign that they are to be freed. It is in this regard only that any material of even a slightly anti-German tone was noted.

Anti-de Gaulle propaganda is frequent, with the emphasis upon the de Gaullist activities abroad, rather than on sympathizers in France. The de Gaullists are described as bought out by the British, weak, willing to attack Frenchmen but not Germans, misguided, and traitorious.

The two major specific domestic topics with regard to which definite propagandizing (as opposed to straight news reporting) was done during the period covered by our Daily Digests (incompletely, Nov. 1-18) were the "Black Market" problem (smuggling, hoarding, and profiteering) and the Labor Charter substitutes for labor unions occupational organizations

including management, and is hailed as a utopian advance, a break with the past. Order, discipline, and the subordination of private interest to the professional good are stressed. In organization and claimed advantages it has a totalitarian tone.

The bias of the news coverage is favorable to the Vichy Government; half of the items in our small sample being presented as "good news", a tenth as "bad". (See Appendix II and page 8 supra). Further insight into the methods of biased reporting may be gained by an inspection of the kinds of "good news" mentioned. Although a large proportion of the domestic material does deal with the troublesome problems of housing, food shortages, unemployment, and the like, these topics are almost always referred to through mention of ameliorative changes, such as the governments steps to improve the distribution of food.

Surprisingly little attention is paid to Occupied France in either news or in expressions of attitude what treatment there is being favorable.

II. Attitudes suggested toward foreign countries. There are relatively few direct attitude statements made regarding other countries. However, fairly strong news biases, which doubtless indicate sympathy in the selection of news, are evident.

Toward England is directed a full third of the attitude-expressing content of the Vichy radio, more than twice that directed toward any other subject. The principle complaints have to do with the siezure of French merchant ships, the starvation of French colonies, and, more recently, with asserted English attempts to stir up unrest in France and to attempt to make of France and French Africa another "voluntary suicide" along with Poland, Greece, etc. In news items, Britain receives less attention than does the United States, but slightly more than any other nation. The news selection has a strong unfavorable bias.

Anti-Russian sentiments were frequent as were appeals against the Communists within France. News bias is very unfavorable, due in part to the fortunes of war at the time when the sample was taken (just before the German capture of Rostov). Russian war communiques are summarized in news broadcasts.

The United States comes in for both favorable and antagonistic attitude expressions. For the period of our systematic survey, the antagonistic expressions were in the majority. Inspection of our very fragmentary records for broadcasts since U. S. entry into the war reveals no antagonistic expressions for that period, (in contrast to the increased Nazi tone of

Anti-British propaganda). News bias for our early November sample is weighted on the side "bad news".

Germany receives uniformly favorable attitude expressions, although the enthusiasm of an Axis-controlled organ is lacking. News selection has the most extreme bias, favorable, found for any nation. However, almost no attention is paid to German domestic conditions; rather, there is an emphasis on the diplomatic activities, trade treaties, and the like.

Other countries received little attention. Italy was obviously neglected, receiving no attitude attention, almost no news mentions. Spain, Turkey, and Portugal are all treated favorably. Japan received favorable attitude expressions, balanced news treatment (although some of the "bad" news implied Russian aggression such as Japanese ships being sunk by Russian mines).

The extent of totalitarian influences is an important question with regard to Vichy. The radio programs, while leaning in the Axis direction, are distinguishable from those of Axis stations. There is less purely propagandistic and attitudinal material, and less bias in the selection of news. A certain degree of formal neutrality is maintained, as shown in the usage of Russian war communiques. Particularly lacking are the extreme Nazi positions on current events, the elaborate build-ups for German political actions, the use of Nazi stereotypes, and the outright pleas for collaboration, all typical of Radio-Paris. The treatment of the United States is much milder, although toward Britain, Vichy is if anything more antagonistic than Radio-Paris.

Although collaboration is not openly advocated, collaborationist Cabinet Members (Pucheu, Belin, Darlan) are given much radio time, and a recent program accused Britain of continuing in her old tactic of sabotaging Franco-German rapproachment. In addition, there are specific appeals made from time to time which are quite totalitarian. There are those connected with the Labor Charter, and more extreme examples. Quotations from Pucheu, Minister of the Interior, and talks under the sponsorship of the "Legion des Combattants" strongly identify the "National Revolution" with the liberating of the working class from its proletarian condition (always joined with anti-Communist sentiments). Petain himself, as quoted from his speech to the French Volunteers to fight against Russia, uses the term "New Europe" (Parenthetically it may be noted, that although the French volunteers in the anti-Communist war received the official blessing of Petain, Vichy did not join in the Anti-Comintern pact, a fact bemoaned by Radio-Paris). Finally, it is unavoidable that the attitudes toward foreign nations Vichy radio programs follow quite closely the Nazi pattern of sympathies.

GERMAN-CONTROLLED RADIO PROGRAMS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE

I. Attitudes suggested toward France. The main focus of the attention of Radio-Paris is Unoccupied France, rather than the Occupied Zone. This hold for straight news attention, where the difference is slight, and is very strongly the case for ideological appeals and attitude suggestions. The main appeal is for collaboration with Germany, and coupled with this are most of the other themes. The main collaboration arguments are the restoration of French power and prestige, the return of the French prisoners, the ending of the division of France, and the promise of revolutionary economic reform (socialism, with the "National Revolution").

Toward the Vichy government itself, the attitude has been mixed. During November only a small portion of the outright attitude expressions were against the Vichy government, the majority were favorable. The news selection was favorable. Particular factions of the Vichy government were pointed out as being traitoriously pro-British or pro-de Gaulle, and thus unloyal to Petain. Since the U. S. entry into the war, strongly anti-Vichy sentiments have appeared with the treatment of the colonial problem (as in Indo-China) alone receiving approval. Even in this most recent trend Petain himself is treated favorably or been explicitly mentioned not with opprobrium. In one recent program which accused the Unoccupied Zone of abandoning the Occupied Zone "to its Doom", Petain is quoted as having said "collaboration is a duty".

With regard to the occupied zone itself, the major topic is the attitude toward the army of occupation. The French are asked to cooperate in the apprehension of those selfish few who are responsible for the atrocities against the German soldiers and officers, are told what capital fellows the German soldiers really are once you get to know them, and are told of the cultural advantages of the occupation. There are also occasionally complaints about the management of things in Paris, particularly the subway.

Radio-Paris provides the full battery of Nazi appeals, expressed as advantages of collaboration and as the hope for a revived France. The benefits of making France truly social, a "National Revolution" in France claimed necessary before collaboration can be effective. The New Europe, anti-Bolshevik and anti-capitalistic, is touted, and France is told that she has an opportunity to join the "young peoples" in this move. Anti-Semitism is very much emphasized, with museum exhibits, speeches, and use of the term "Jewish" as a general abusive. The French are even told that it was not the French people that the Germans fought, but rather her jews; by removing these she can join the Young Nations of Europe. There is an unabashed mixture of appeals to tradition and reform. France is asked

to join in the great revolution, preserving the age-old heritage of European Culture. French monarchist tradition is praised, while the republic is damned. (Even Napoleon is debunked, being, in one program, described as "not defeated by space and winter, but because his genius had exceeded the apex of its possibilities.") The Nazi prejudice against democracy and parliamentary government is also stressed. Anti-masonic sentiments are mentioned wherever possible, probably as much to utilize the Catholic antipathy as following the usual Nazi line in this regard.

II. Attitudes suggested toward foreign countries. With regard to Germany, aside from the presentation of Nazi Ideology and the specific expressions of admiration for the Germans in connection with the appeals for cooperation with the army of occupation, most of the references deal with the war events and with diplomatic manoevres within the New Europe. Germany receives less attention than does England; though, of course, the attention that it gets is favorable rather than unfavorable.

Toward the United States Radio-Paris is strongly antagonistic and although less news attention and fewer attitude statements were made about the U. S. than about England, hostility seemed almost greater. America has in part succeeded England as the arch-villian whose allies (including England) are its dupes. Our entry into the war was hailed as a failure of the tactic of having others do our fighting. England came in for a lot of mock sympathy because of her absorption into the American empire, descent into a second-rate satellite of Wall street, etc. The attacks on the United States follow the usual line from Berlin: Roosevelt the war-monger; American Imperialism; Jewish plutocracy, stronghold of international bankers; anti-Democracy; emphasis on American weakness and disunity; favorable attitudes toward American isolationists. The news was unfavorably selected, emphasizing internal disunity.

The attitudes expressed toward England are mainly based around her relations to France. Everything that can be construed as an Anti-French act on England's part is emphasized, and Vichy statements against the English are eagerly quoted. This theme is fused with the collaboration appeal; the French are told, "it is extraordinary that all French do not realize that Britain is fighting France."

Anti-Communist and Anti-Russian views were stressed particularly in relation to French participation in the anti-Bolshevik crusade. Russia received less attention than England; and more news attention but fewer open attitude expressions than did the United States.

In both direct attitude expressions, and in bias of news coverage, Radio-Paris follows the usual tactics of being

favorable to all the Axis powers and potentially sympathetic neutrals, especially Turkey. Before our entry into the war few statements of outright admiration for Japan were noted; but news coverage had a favorable bias, and anti-American attitudes were expressed in discussions of U. S.-Japanese relations. Italy received very little mention in our sample (taken during a period of little activity in Libya).

BRITISH RADIO PROGRAMS TO FRANCE

Our information on the content of the BBC broadcasts to the people of France is based solely upon the "Directives" released by the Political Warfare Executive two or three times a month, and by the supplementary "Guidances" which provide day to day suggestions as to the interpretation and relative emphasis to be given the current events. These materials are relatively scanty compared to the "Daily Digest" materials for continental radio stations, but have the great advantage of providing direct knowledge of the long-term and immediate goals of the propaganda.

The major purpose of the British propaganda is, of course, to weaken the German control and to strengthen the support of Britain among the French people. These general objectives becomes more specific in attempts to undermine the morale of the German troops of occupation (indirectly through the French); to get the French people to oppose collaboration both by political and individual action; to prepare French colonial troops for desertion to the Allies in future military operations. To achieve these and related ends, the British use the appeals and attitude-suggestions described below.

As a general technique, the British seem to believe in being cautious and sticking to the facts. They attempt to avoid boasts and predictions that later might fall through. They thus try not to make the mistake in overstatement which are characteristic of the Germans and which the British utilize in their counter-propaganda. The British are not always successful in avoiding over optimism but successful enough so that German counter-propaganda has had to "expose" the English technique of using pessimistic predictions as a means of making British defeats appear as victories. The news is selected and emphasized to strengthen the British case, but this is done cautiously with specific attention to anticipating Axis counter-propaganda. Thus the superior food conditions in the Free-French colonies must not be so stressed that the "bribery" charge can be made; thus the Libyan campaign must never be called a second front (as the British populace might wish it) but must be considered as British cooperation on the Eastern Murmansk to Tobruk front. (A real Western Front, Anglo-American, is promised for the future).

I. Attitudes suggested toward France. British attention to the domestic problems of France seems predominately political. Almost no attention was given the food shortages, and disruptive activities. Exceptions to this are implied in a warning to the BBC by the Political Warfare Executive not to give such details on bootleg newspapers in France as might endanger the participants.

The attitude toward Vichy is antagonistic, except that Petain and Weygand are not directly attacked but held to be powerless to oppose Germany and blindly obedient rather than loyal. The outright collaborationists in the Vichy government are specifically and frequently attacked, their intent and their power advertized to the French people. The de Gaullist movement is encouraged; its military exploits emphasized. French pride is appealed to in the slogan "France is still fighting".

Specific topics which were played up were: possibility of Frenchmen contributing to the V campaign by not going to work in the German factories; the probability of the wool and fur collection extending to occupied countries; the barbarity of the hostage shooting, and Petain's and Darlan's lack of sympathy for those executed; Weygand was dismissed under German pressure, he did not resign; collaboration means further exploitations of French resources.

II. Attitudes suggested toward foreign countries. With regard to Germany, Britain realizes that the most potent argument to the French is proof that the Allies will win the war. For this reason, and to undermine the morale of the German soldiers in France, a great deal of attention is paid to German difficulties. The major stress is on the German failure to keep to Hitler's time table in Russia, on Hitler's individual responsibility for the campaign, on the difficulties of the Russian winter, the horrible conditions which soldiers there have to face, and the poor state of German home morale due to shortages and to RAF raids. Since the Pacific warfare has broken out, the British have tried to make it clear that the Russian front is the more important and that Germany is the main enemy in the unified allied strategy. More general anti-German themes are those of Nazi tyranny, ruthlessness and war guilt.

The attitudes toward the British that BBC tries to instill are confidence that Britain is working for the restoration of France and confidence that the British have the strength to win the war (including mainly emphasis on the RAF strength, control of the air in the West). The British seem to assume that the French people, but not the Vichy government, are friendly to them. The charge that Britain has absorbed the Free French colonies is refuted, their cooperation in the effort against Hitler stressed.

The United States is featured over BBC. Perhaps the main argument which the British use to bolster their optimistic predictions of eventual victory is that of American strength and cooperation. American unity, American resources and industrial equipment, and American determination to destroy Hitler are emphasized. The British feel that American opinion is important to the French, and quotations from American opinion on French

policy are used as much as possible.

Pro-Russian attitudes are occasionally used, for example, French labor was asked to join British labor in support of Russian labor's fight against Fascism. The main theme, however, is Russian power and determination to resist, even if Moscow fails. Russia is stressed as one of Hitler's big troubles.

OTHER SOURCES OF RADIO PROPAGANDA TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE

I. Italy. Rome broadcasts to France are reported by the BBC "Daily Digests" for about half of the days for which records were seen. These summaries showed none of the elaborate appeals which are broadcast to England by Rome. News reports were the main content, stressing Axis victories, the Fuehrer's speech, etc. Strong anti-British and Anti-Russian attitudes were expressed; the atheistic nature of Communism was particularly stressed. No outright expression of antipathy toward the United States was noted; unlike Radio-Paris, divisionist propaganda makes Great Britain the major scoundrel, with Russia and the United States as the dupes that do the actual fighting. Only one direct reference to France was noted. This said, "After France's defeat, nothing survived of the Franco-British alliance. All that France felt about the alliance was disillusion and hatred toward Britain for her betrayal."

II. Russia. Moscow broadcasts to France are mentioned in the "Daily Digests" for seven out of sixteen days inspected. From these very scanty reports, it would seem that the major attention was to the Soviet version of the war news. Stalin's speech and the foreign reaction to it was given considerable mention. There was mention of disaffection in countries occupied by Germany, and of German exploitation. One item noted the safe return of an Armenian Archbishop from a visit to the Soviet Union. The German radio had reported the Archbishop dead.

III. The Vatican. Although the Vatican broadcasts to France but occasionally (as nearly as we can discover from our sources), we may assume that its broadcasts are important and influential. (German, English, and Vichy broadcasts all try to use Catholic appeals, and never express anti-religious sentiments). We have no record of any openly anti-Nazi broadcasts to France such as have been directed to Spain and to Poland. There are appeals to industry, faith in God and the destiny of their people, and the importance of being able to smile in adversity. One broadcast reviewed the history of anti-religious propaganda in Russia, and asserted that in spite of it all, many still believed in God. The most nearly anti-Nazi broadcast was one given on November 20, which had the theme "blessed are those who suffer for righteousness". It spoke of the virtues of holding what was one's own, of defending the rights of others; and offered the example of the early Christian martyrs.

IV. Free French Broadcasts. The de Gaullists broadcast from Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa. Our major continental source, the "Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts" records these transmissions very infrequently, none being reported for sixteen issues in November, two being briefly mentioned in ten September issues. These were supposedly directed toward French Africa,

but since heard in England, were doubtless audible in France. Broadcasts from Brazzaville, beamed to the United States and Canada, are regularly picked up in America. These are for the most part in French, and since many of the broadcast hours are appropriate for France, these are very possibly heard there. We have no evidence of broadcasts directly intended for France, although there may be such broadcasts.

Taking the broadcasts directed toward America as representative, we can summarize the broadcasts as follows: Free-French activities, bad news for the Axis, and de Gaullist activities in France make up the body of news reports. Attitudinal content stresses de Gaulle as the infallible and wholly accepted leader of the French people and presents the Vichy government as the worst of traitors. (The assertion that Free French propaganda is more anti-Vichy than anti-German would seem in a sense justified.) The usually hostile attitudes expressed toward Petain and Weygand are occasionally mixed with admissions that Petain is the betrayed as well as the betrayer, that currently he seems obviously reluctant to collaborate. Weygand's dismissal was attributed to Nazi pressure, while in the same talk he was called a friend of Hitler. Infrequent lip-service is given to the ideal of democracy.

Batavia. Netherlands East Indies, occasionally broadcasts in French for "French Speaking People all over the World". These are heard in England, and can doubtless be heard in France. The content of five programs noted (two in November) was very much pro-de Gaulle, and anti-Vichy.

V. French Freedom Station. Radio Inconnue, one of the more plausibly genuine of the European Freedom Stations broadcasting from within occupied Europe, provides programs in French which are picked up quite frequently by American monitors. (These programs were not reported in the "Daily Digests" available.) The programs are frequently jammed. The major themes noted in the FCC weekly analyses are: hatred of the Germans (les Boches); appeals for active resistance against them; opposition to the Vichy regime including Petain, and requests for revenge against these traitors; bad news for Germany; and emphasis upon the goodwill and strength of the United States. As far as could be told, neither pro-de Gaulle nor pro-British appeals were used.

VI. The United States. The "Daily Digest" reports considerable detail about American broadcasts to Europe, but reports only two in French in sixteen issues inspected. One of these was a news broadcast very much on the domestic American order, i.e., both sides presented, with the point of view toward the Allied cause as optimistic as possible. The other was a "Press Review" which quoted American opinion on European problems: anticipating German pressure for further French collaboration; finding Axis supplies in Libya inadequate for aggressive action; anticipating an attempt to invade England due to the stalemate on the Russian

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Front; and finding civilian morale in Germany unhealthy. These two broadcasts were from WRCA.

ATTITUDES OF THE FRENCH REVEALED BY

PROPAGANDA DIRECTED TO THEM

Where a propaganda agency is in close contact with the intended audience, the nature of the propaganda may often be used to infer attitudes current in that audience, attitudes both acceptable and unacceptable to the agency. These inferences are most easily made 1) by noting those attitudes which are appealed to in attempts to establish new attitudes or actions (e.g., the identifications made in lauding or damning objects) and 2) by noting those attitudes which are explicitly attacked in counter-propaganda. The programs of Radio-Paris and the Vichy stations have been examined in this way. The results of these two types of inferences are presented separately below.

I. Attitudes apparently assumed in the establishment of new attitudes. Attitudes exploited in this manner must be, by the very nature of their use, attitudes which are well distributed in the population being worked on and attitudes which are acceptable to the propaganda agency, at least as far as its admitted policy is concerned. The results for Radio-Paris and Vichy are compared below; the case for the existence of the attitude is presumably stronger where both agencies seek to capitalize on it.

Vichy Radio	Radio Paris:
Usual Christian moral values, Western ideals, etc. especially conscience, order, discipline, duty, responsibility, honesty, bravery, sacrifice, etc.	Usual Christian moral values, Western ideals, etc., especially "World with a soul", "civilization and culture", religious values, beauty, courage, bravery, self-sacrifice, sympathy. Hatred of tyranny.
Pride in France and her history, strong desire to regain her former position, to retain the colonies, etc. Pride in French intellectual and cultural tradition. Value for French military honor.	Pride in "Imperial France", in "French honor", in the Colonies. Strong desire to retain the colonies, to regain rank of first-rate power. Pride in the French intellectual prominence, French morality, French realism, clear-sightedness, quick-wittedness.

ASSUMED ATTITUDES

We can summarize the major attitudes which Nazi propagandists admit that the French hold and which they ask them to abandon as follows:

1. Hope for an allied victory: admitted in such statements as "some French thrilled at the Russian successes in counterattacks" or in Deat's "surprise" that some people should be pleased over this extension of hostilities, since they imagine that the intervention of the U.S. will hasten an Anglo-Russian victory and German defeat." Related are the references to Anglophilia, de Gaullism, and faith in the U.S.A. and her strength. Example: "One is astonished that so many people declare their Anglophile sentiments in the name of French patriotism."

2. Distaste for collaboration: specifically admitted by references to the "unfortunate and premature choice of the term" and by such statements as "people will have to change their outlook if they want to hasten release of French people."

3. Distaste for occupation and the historic French-German hatred: exemplified by admissions of the bitter disappointment of French as seeing news-reels of the French anti-Bolshevik volunteers in German uniform.

4. "Attentisme", the wait-and-see policy.

5. The feeling that the French should still be fighting.

6. Anger at their own soldiers for not fighting hard enough (and by strong inference, the willingness to let them remain suffering in German prisions rather than collaborate).

7. "Sentimental worship of failure"; love for the old status-quo ("mania for believing that things will be as they were in the past"); lack of communal spirit; belief in BBC propaganda; and the like.

APPENDIX I, SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON RADIO PROGRAMS

The following are the Radio Stations whose broadcasts in French were noted. The footnoting (*, @, /, #, FCC) indicates our source on the content of such programs.

German Controlled Stations

@ *Radio-Paris
*Luxemburg
@Lille

Vichy Controlled Stations

@ #Radio-Lyons
@ #Lyons National
#Radio-Toulouse

Other Stations

/BBC
@ #Vatican
@ #Rome
#Moscow
FCC#Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa
#Batavia, Netherlands East Indies
FCC Radio Inconnue
#Schwartzenburg, Switzerland
#Oviedo, Spain
#WRCA (according to the BBC "Monitoring Report" (P-29, 11-18-41) there have been six, currently four, American stations broadcasting for France. Westinghouse now sends N.B.C. foreign language hours. G.E. and Crosley Columbia and World-Wide Broadcast Foundations still send independent programs

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Our sources for the content of the radio programs are as follows:

*"Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts" part I, BBC Monitoring Service, (COI P-26) October 31,

November 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 1941. Quite complete reports, with a two-month transportation lag. Part I deals with the German controlled Radio stations.

"Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts" part II (COI P-27) dates as part I. Part II deals with other than German controlled radio.

"Medium Wave Monitoring", Barnes teletypes to Pflaum FIS, COI (COI P-15) 54 issues between November 1, 1941, and January 5, 1942. These are more or less daily excerpts from Monitoring in England as cabled to New York. Material is highly selected, according to current news interests; little domestic material

"Propaganda Directives" to BBC from the British Political Warfare Executive, and supplementary "Guidance" memoranda.

FCC "Daily Report" and weekly "Analysis" of short wave broadcasts from Foreign Countries to North and South America prepared by the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service of the Federal Communications Commission.

Other sources are the BBC "Monitoring Report" and "Index of Foreign Broadcasts" put out by the same group that do the "Daily Digest" and presenting a summary by news topic; and the "News Digest", anonymous but apparently from a similar British source, which quotes continental radio as well as newspapers, summarized by country and news topic.

APPENDIX II, DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDE AND NEWS ITEMS

Using but a portion of the issues of the "Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts" available, sample statistical studies were made of the allocation of attitude and news attention by Radio-Paris and Vichy radio stations. In spite of samples which are not entirely comparable, minor deviations in method, and the small and dated sampling, these analyses are presented because they are suggestive for more intensive research and because they provide a basis for some of the rough generalizations made in the body of the paper.

The Vichy sample covers eight "Daily Digests" dating between October 31 and November 19. The Radio-Paris sample covers six "Digests", November 1 to 6 inclusive.

NUMBER OF ITEMS

	Attitudinal	Straight news
Vichy Stations	68 (12%)	519 (88%)
Radio-Paris	113 (29%)	281 (71%)

DISTRIBUTION OF OUTRIGHT ATTITUDE EXPRESSIONS

Toward	By	Percent of Total Items	Percent Favorable Attitudes	Percent Unfavorable Attitudes
France, Unocc.	Vichy	18	100	0
	Paris	19	95	5
France, Occ.	Vichy	3	100	0
	Paris	1	100	0
Germany and Central Europe	Vichy	10	100	0
	Paris	13	100	0
Russia	Vichy	10	0	100
	Paris	11	0	100
United States	Vichy	12	25	75
	Paris	24	0	100
Britain	Vichy	35	0	100
	Paris	27	0	100
Other	Vichy	14		
	Paris	5		

The analysis of the distribution of straight news coverage was undertaken to supplement the overt expressions of attitude, particularly for Vichy. Items relating to a given country have been classified according to whether they are good or bad news to that country. The actual nature of current events will, of course, affect the distribution, but usually sympathetic biases are strong enough to predominate. During the period sampled below, Russia was being steadily pushed back. There was almost no action in Libya.

DISTRIBUTION OF STRAIGHT NEWS COVERAGE

About	By	Percent of Total items	Percent Good News	Percent Neutral	Percent Bad News
France, Unocc.	Vichy	39	51	38	11
	Paris	17	59	29	12
France, Occ.	Vichy	4	41	41	18
	Paris	14	60	39	0
Germany and Central Europe	Vichy	10	71	25	4
	Paris	16	89	11	0
Japan	Vichy	7	28	50	22
	Paris	6	55	45	0
Italy	Vichy	1	(50)	(0)	(50)
	Paris	1	(100)	(0)	(0)
Spain	Vichy	2	(60)	(40)	(0)
	Paris	2	(50)	(50)	(0)
Turkey	Vichy	2	(62)	(23)	(15)
	Paris	2	(80)	(20)	(0)
Russia	Vichy	6	19	13	68
	Paris	13	0	11	89
United States	Vichy	14	16	38	46
	Paris	10	14	31	55
Great Britain	Vichy	12	10	27	62
	Paris	17	4	27	70
Other	Vichy	3			
	Paris	2			

ASSUMED ATTITUDES

Vichy Radio (continued)	Radio Paris: (continued)
Shame, humiliation, and contriteness over defeat.	Desire to revenge defeat, project the guilt for defeat onto others.
Desire for some equalization economically of the classes. Anti-communism.	Desire for economic and social reform, the desire to be freed from current and former economic insecurities. Desire for socialism. Anti-semitism, Anti-communism. Anti-capitalism.

II. Attitudes admitted in explicit counter-propaganda. Attitudes which exist in opposition to the propaganda agency's program are often admitted in propaganda attempting to change the undesired sentiments. Such explicit counter propaganda is characteristic of Radio-Paris, and is rare for Vichy, which prefers not to mention its real problems, even in denial. Vichy accused its audience of nothing more revealing than individual selfishness, class loyalties and hatreds, the capitalistic values of competition and individualism, and the loss of self-confidence.

Radio-Paris, on the other hand, puts a great deal of specific attention on attitudes which it recognizes as antagonistic and which it wants to change. Probably this represents an attempt to deal with a predominately antagonistic audience, since it is also used with the Czechs but not with the German public. For example, Charles Guy (sort of a Lord Haw Haw or Max Blokzijl for France) reassures his audience that he is not, as they might have supposed, under pay or censorship from the Germans. Thus the French are told that Allied sympathesizers, "these termites of the new edifice pretend to know such things as that Darlan has sold the country to Hitler, that Petain has lost the war and that Churchill will win it. They maintain that Germans are murdering each other for the pleasure of executing hostages, that they (the Germans) want to instigate a rising so as to be able to take frightful repressive measures. They (these termites) are everywhere and are dangerous". Or again, after praising the progressive outlook of collaborationists, a speaker goes on, "unfortunately, this does not apply to all Frenchmen who in their unlimited and criminal stupidity . . . believe that the Russians are making a purely strategic withdrawal . . . and think that it is being a good Frenchman if one has faith in Father Christmas and in Mr. Roosevelt. . . . When prisoners come back they are horrified to see their compatriots trying so hard to lose their reputation as the most quick-witted people in the world."